

Alexandria Gazette

Scientific Case

FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 1877.

Wendell Phillips Interviewed.

The interviewer found Mr. Phillips ready and willing to undergo the operation.

The question that most immediately interests the public mind, it was suggested, is the withdrawal of the troops from South Carolina and Louisiana.

Said Mr. Phillips, in answer: "I think it

Hayes withdraws the troops he breaks his implied promise to the nation and to the party that elected him. The section of the republican party that elected him was the 'Bloody Shirt,' and if he had announced that he would repudiate that section he would never have been elected. There is no practical difference between him and Tilden if he withdraws the troops. Tilden couldn't have done more, and the Southerners couldn't have asked Tilden to

"It was never understood that in his letter of acceptance he promised to withhold the hand of the United States from the South. If such was the understanding he could never have been elected. It was understood to foreshadow a wise and generous policy, and that is what everybody wishes."

"It would be to give the Southern men every recognition and share of office who were willing to co-operate with the government, and at the same time keep the hold on them with the troops.

Being asked whether this bayonet rule did not conflict with every principle of free government, Mr. Phillips replied:—

"I consider the South to be in an abnormal condition—in a transition state. The reign of

"No. We have never had a trial of the experiment. The first mistake was the admitting of the States as States when they should have been kept as Territories. They were admitted on the pledge that the Southerners would

on the pledge that the white South hereafter
co-operate with the government heartily in its
new course of destroying all distinctions of race;
unsolicited the white South promise to do so.
She has always claimed to be the gentleman
of the country, and she stands peijured and false
to these unsolicited oaths. It is worse than
absurd to trust anew to the promises of such
men. The black man is the only element
in the country that has done its whole
duty. The South is a lion and the North is
coward. The negro has falsified all prophecies

that he wouldn't work, the productions of the Southern States are more now than before the war. As a citizen he has shown wisdom and courage in standing, at every sacrifice, by his friends. The North has more than half for gotten him. If she now withdraws the troops she leaves him a victim without protection in the position to which she summoned him—not from a sense of justice, but to save herself a military necessity. If we withdraw the troops murder and intimidation will rule there. The white Southerner has been cunning enough to

part with a very little land. The negro in general is a mere laborer. He can be easily starved into submission. If, under such circumstances, we withdraw the troops, the revolver and the bowie-knife will be the real legislators of that section, and there will be no republican State south of the Potomac; the next Congress and the next President will be democratic, and the first move of the South will be to get in some way a billion dollars from the national Treasury. She was never taught to earn her living, but always stole it from somebody else. Her ex-

couragement of lawless violence has driven away capital and labor and she must fill up her empty veins from the national Treasury in the shape of loans to States and railroads without interest, pensions to Confederate soldiers, cotton damages and payment of State debts. It is easy to elude the "constitutional prohibition and steal the national funds.

"But what would the North be doing all this while?"

"Doing? Just what Hayes is doing—raising passive sentiment, waiting out rush. If

"Has not the record of carpet bag government reflected against the capacity of the Southern blacks for self-government?" was here asked.

"When the war ended," replied Mr. Phillips, "I was in the South, in Houston and in

"The North invited Wade Hampton about a class to assume the leadership of the South, and they refused it. Then came Andrew Johnson and the Ku Klux. Northern men and capital had been eager to move South forty years before they moved West; the war was checked; honest business men and mechanics shrank from going. The element that went was largely political speculators, broken men, anxious to make something out of a disturbed world, and the result has been what we have seen. Wherein is the fault? Not with the North.

that would willingly have welcomed the Southern white man to his place and maintained him there, but with the Southern white man who left the empty chambers to be filled with devils when we begged and urged that they should be crowded with honest men. The colored man had no book education and little political education, and cunning political leaders took advantage of him and misled him, it is our fault and not his defect."

In conclusion, Mr. Phillips repeated that when the white South refused to take their

when the States should have been kept as territories, governed from Washington, in the full view of national oversight. Henry Wilson, he said, admitted to him two years before his death that this was the great republican mistake, and his only apology was that the republicans feared that unless they risked readmitting the States, the Democrats would outvote them. — *Philadelphia Times*.

H. JACOBS
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